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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

SPEECH

OF

REV. L. T. CHAMBERLAIN,

AT THE MASS MEETING,

IN McCORMICK HALL,

CHICAGO, MAY 3, 1875.**

It will be remembered that during the week following the so-called election of April 23d, in which the city was to decide for or against its reincorporation under the Act known as "The General Incorporation Act of 1872," a Call of the following purport was put in circulation:—

THE CALL.

To the Citizens and Legal Voters of Chicago, irrespective of Party or Nationality:

Gentlemen:—It is abundantly proved that the Election of the 23d instant was carried by means of the grossest and most unblushing frauds. In many of the wards, such scenes were witnessed as would have disgraced even the "Five Points" of New York. The requirements of good order were defiantly disregarded. The express terms of Statute Law were persistently violated. The elective Franchise itself was made a mockery. The claims of even public decency were openly scorned. The disreputable elements of the city, both official and unofficial, succeeded in their desperate purpose, and the reign of lawlessness was complete.

The result is not only that a plan of incorporation has been fraudulently forced upon us, but also that the good name of the city has been scandalized, and the very foundations of popular government in our midst have been endangered. We, therefore, in behalf of the interests imperiled lissue this call for a Mass-Meeting of all good citizens, to be held in

^{*} Published by the Executive Committee of the 20TH WARD CITIZENS' CLUB.

McCormick's Hall, on Monday evening next, May 3d, at 8 o'clock, to protest against the validity of a result consummated by such fraud, and to take such organized action as may be deemed appropriate. Let all rally for the rescue! Let us unite in such a movement as shall render impossible a repetition of the recent disgraces!

The Call received the signatures of hundreds of the most respected citizens, and although the weather was unfavorable the great hall was thronged. The meeting having been called to order by Hon. Julian S. Rumsey, a permanent organization was made, with N. K. Fairbank, Esq., as President. Nearly a hundred distinguished gentlemen were appointed Vice-Presidents and occupied seats on the platform. On motion, it was voted to appoint a committee of seven on resolutions. The President appointed as that committee: Rev. L. T. Chamberlain, Hon. Julian S. Rumsey, Hon. John M. Arwidon, Hans Haerting, Frank Nowak, John Comiskey, Hermann Lieb. After eloquent speeches by Hon. Sidney Smith, and Hon. Thomas Hoyne, the Committee on resolutions reported through their Chairman

THE RESOLUTIONS.

The citizens of Chicago, in mass-meeting assembled, holding that the sanctity of the ballot-box, and the purity of elections, are foundations upon which rest the free institutions of American self-government, do declare that there is danger of permanent injury to the rights and liberties of our people in the frauds to which this city has been subjected during recent elections. As examples of such frauds we set forth the following:—

First—An organized conspiracy, composed of the worst elements of our population, and controlled by some of the most dangerous and unscrupulous men in the city, turned the recent Town Elections, held on the 6th day of April last, into a scurrilous farce; and it is but the manifest truth that, in those elections, there was not even a show of fairness to relieve the fraud that characterized them.

Second—In the vote recently taken upon the adoption or rejection of the General Incorporation act of 1872, there was scarcely any honest support of this measure, and yet it is pretended that it was adopted by a large and decisive majority. In this election, the aforesaid organized gangs of "repeaters," and other willing tools for the corruption of the franchise, were controlled by certain unscrupulous holders of public trusts; men who so far forgot their solemn obligations to the people that, for their own continuance in power, they not only conspired to burden the city with a law totally unfit as a basis of its government, but also formed an alliance with the dangerous and disreputable classes for the purpose of accomplishing by fraud what they knew the honestly-expressed will of the people would have prevented. It is a fact known to every observing citizen, that in making the appointments for this election, the controlling rings in the Common Council and other departments of the City Government, did everything in their power to prevent a fair expression of the real desires of the people.

It is further known, that certain judges of the election became the ready instruments of those corrupt rings. It is also known, that the election was carried on without regard to, and in direct violation of, the laws of this State; and the evidence is now fast accumulating before an investigating committee of citizens, which demonstrates that the pretended majority was the result of the most infamous election-fraud ever perpetrated upon American soil.

In consideration of these facts, and the imminent danger to the prosperity of our city, and to the rights and liberties of the people, be it

Resolved, That we, as citizens of an outraged community, do hereby solemnly and emphatically protest against the election-frauds perpetrated upon us, and that we pledge our united efforts to prevent the repetition of such frauds in the future.

Resolved, That we heartily approve of the movement of the Citizens' Association and of others, looking to the prosecution of those judges of election and other persons guilty of the recent frauds, and that we heartily second the efforts they are making to invoke the aid of our courts of justice in preventing, by all legal measures, any such action on the part of the Common Council as may recognize or give effect to, results consummated by such fraudulent means.

Resolved, That we ask our fellow-citizens to disregard minor differences of political opinion, and to unite, without reference to party affiliation, in rescuing the vast and important interests of Chicago from the power of the disreputable men who now hold them at their mercy.

Resolved, That only by energetic, thorough, and persevering action can we hope to put a check upon the evil influences which now control the city, and to substitute therefor a government organized solely with a view to honesty, efficiency, and economy; and that, therefore, we recommend a speedy and thorough organization of citizens in each of the different wards of the city, similar to the one now in active operation in the Twentieth Ward, and the creation of a Central Committee, to be composed of delegates from the various ward organizations, for the purpose of determining upon further concerted action for the best interests of our city.

At the close of the reading of the resolutions, Mr. Chamberlain spoke as follows:—

Fellow-Citizens,—You will pardon me, I trust, if in support of the resolutions, and in addition to what you have already heard, I still call your attention to the precise meaning of the issue before us. Certainly in time of danger there is need of clear-sightedness. They who fight without an understanding of the peril they confront, fight not only at a disadvantage manifest and general, but at a disadvantage which relates specifically to both the methods to be adopted and the weapons to be employed. Fellow-citizens, we cannot comprehend too exactly, nor realize too vividly, the nature of the crisis which to-day is upon us.

I take it, for example, that one incentive which has gathered us in public protest, has been our indignation at events which lay on the very surface of that Friday's doings. For, suppose that there had been no weighty issues at stake. Suppose that for a comparatively trivial reason the inhabitants of Chicago had resorted to the methods of an election. Yet, even

h a supposition, the honest citizen must have come to the close of

the recent election-day with feelings of righteous anger. I venture that in his very instinct of self-respect, his natural impulse as a man, he must have resented the deeds which then were witnessed throughout the city. [Applause.] An election, good friends, though considered at its lowest, is nothing less than a sacred agreement to which, on the one side or the other, the whole community is party. It is based on good faith between man and man. It proceeds upon the clear understanding that in the elective franchise there is the means of ascertaining the desires of those who resort to it. It contains the pledge that when any legal voter goes to the polls and deposits his ballot, that ballot shall count one in the number of bona fide votes. The very idea of the elective procedure is that of a courteous, open, honest summons to the qualified voter to make known his individual choice. Now what, fellow-citizens of Chicago, did you find to be the facts as touching the election of a week ago? Why, you found, in many instances, that both the polling-places and the ballot-boxes had been taken possession of by those who scoffed at the requirements of fairness, and laughed the dictates of courtesy to scorn. You found, with certain most honorable exceptions, that those whose previous conduct had not inspired you with confidence, or whose crimes had forced you to deem them positively disreputable, had assumed to control methods and decide results. You found yourselves subjected to personal indignities, such as might almost have made you doubt whether there were such realities as. courtesy and good faith between men. The air of more than one votingplace was persistently fouled with obscenity and oaths by those who openly lent themselves to the service of riot instead of law. And all that even was but the beginning of the occasion for your instinctive wrath. For you found when all was over, that your very votes had been neutralized not, be it remembered, by the legal votes of those who differed from you in judgment,—but by the votes of those who had no pretence of claim to the franchise, and by votes placed in the ballot-boxes without even the formality of persons casting them! You went up from your business and your homes. You took time in the midst of engrossing cares, to exercise the right of the franchise. And then, when all the other outrages of the day had been endured, you found, so far as the declared result was concerned, that you might as well have stayed from the polls, or have cast your ballots to the winds. To crown all, your ballots themselves were belied and miscounted, and what was announced as an election, and you had treated as a matter of good faith, was turned into a shameless farce. You found, in short, that by means of treachery and fraud you had been made to play the apparent part of imbeciles and fools. I don't wonder that when the hand of villiany so smote you in the face, you flushed with the sense of personal indignation. [Applause.]

But, fellow-citizens, unless I misjudge the hour, your protest to-night goes deeper than feelings of personal resentment. I take it that you would feel called to express your disapproval of such wrong-doing though it had not existed as a direct insult to yourselves. I confidently trust that at sight of such fraud perpetrated anywhere, you would be moved to earnest opposition. He surely has but a paltry estimate of citizenship, who does not realize that it belongs to him to bear witness against fraud as

fraud, no matter whether it touch him personally or not. Is it not, my friends, one distinguishing feature of sound civilization, not to say religion, that under it men sometimes take abstract views and own allegiance to right as right? I would wish it distinctly understood, therefore, by both the city and the country, that we are not here to-night simply because of personal grievance. Let it rather go forth that we are here because a gigantic wrong has been consummated, and because, on that account, aside from, and in addition to, personal resentment, we are constrained to make our protest. Let it be understood that this issue has moral fearings which are independent of everything save the sheer iniquity which has been perpetrated in our midst. For my own part, I would speak and work against fraud in itself considered, and with equal earnestness, let me add, whether it be found on the one side or the other. [Loud applause.] Party may be but an honest difference of judgment between good men. City-charters and general incorporation acts may be but temporary expedients. But, fellow-citizens, the nature of right, whether in private or public affairs is eternal, and demands the absolute fealty of every soul. God speed the day, then, when the public conscience shall be so quickened that every official and every measure and every party shall alike be held to moral accountability, and judged without fear or favor. God speed the day when the people shall assert their sovereignty by searching politics, both municipal and national, as with the candle of the Lord, and by demanding the putting away of whatever baseness is therein discovered. [Applause.] Aye, if wrong-doing should anywhere receive special reprobation and punishment, it is when it is found in the ranks of those who claim to be the preëminent conservators of purity and law. For theirs is not only the crime of profaneness, it is hypocritical blasphemy against uprightness itself, and ought scarce to be forgiven either in this life or the life to come. I repeat, then, that we are here to-night to bear our impartial protest against the wrong which we know was done on that "Black Friday" of April 23d. We are here to say to individuals and committees and associations and courts, "In the name of the people, make thorough work of it. Hunt the crime to its source. And whether it be traced to the gutter or the mansion; to the lurking-place of the outcast or the office of authority; to those who voted for the incorporation act or those who voted against it; the crime as crime shall receive our unqualified condemnation, and its punishment our unhesitating approval." We are here to warn the wrongdoer, whoever he is and wherever he is, that the honest people of the city are against him, and that, so far as in them lies, he shall be brought to deserved judgment. [Renewed applause.]

Still, fellow-citizens, there are considerations touching this crisis that is upon us, which are of yet graver import and which demand yet more earnest reflection. It undoubtedly were enough to call us together in our present attitude, though the emergency was one whose evils were simply such as have already been set forth. But, in actual fact, the evils to be opposed are of a more serious sort. They are evils which possess a germinant power. They are evils which peculiarly tend to perpetuate and enlarge themselves. They are evils which to-day threatening the foundations of the public good, will at no distant day, provided they go unchecked, destroy the whole

structure of social and governmental well-being. Yet believe me, friends, I am no alarmist. I have lived long enough to learn that, in public affairs, many a cry of mortal danger is but the cry of those who would make the false affright the means of accomplishing their own selfish ends. If we credited every assertion of danger, we should long ago have come to believe that liberalism and toryism, republicanism and democracy, centralization of power and diffusion of power, were successive pivots on which must turn decisively the gates of a people's destiny. Whereas, through a hundred such crises the nation has already passed in alternating preference, and received no fatal detriment. No American community, therefore,—certainly no such community as is represented here to-night—is to be carried away by off-hand alarms. Yet, look with me for a moment, and see if in our municipal affairs, and in wider affairs too so far as this city controls them, the supreme peril has not at last and in truth overtaken us. I spoke in the opening of these remarks of the virtual compact between man and man, and between all parts of the community, which was involved in the very idea of the elective procedure. I said that a personal affront was put upon every legal voter who went to the polls, only to find, in the end, that his ballot had been neutralized by treachery and fraud. Well! See now what else and what more is true. See how the personal affront, stinging as it is, fades into nothingness in comparison with the more practical and mightier mischiefs which follow. And do I speak now, think you, of the features of the bill of 1872, on which Chicago was supposed to hold an election? Is it to terms of office improperly extended, and fire and police departments disorganized, and treasury left unguarded, and taxes redoubled, and the city gerrymandered to suit the new régime, that I refer as the more practical and mightier mischiefs which we have to dread? No, fellowcitizens, serious as are such possibilities, there are mischiefs which outweigh them all. For mark you, in such a form of government as ours, the mutual compact implied and sealed in the elective franchise is that with which everything valuable is vitally connected. Profane the franchise, therefore, and you profane the very shrine of your welfare. Let the franchise be invaded in its purity, and you shake to its downfall the whole temple of public and private prosperity. Suffer illegality and fraud to reign in your elections, and you bid speedy farewell to both rights and enjoyments. Let me illustrate.

Suppose a community to be associated by reason of common interests. Of necessity, there must be some form of government. Either sheer force will hold sway, or there will be a voluntary adjustment of authority. That adjustment moreover, in case it be made, will embody a greater or less degree of popular sovereignty. If there comes to be a king on the throne, the people will have comparatively little direct responsibility. But if they decide for simple self-government, they will hold direct control, only deputing to certain chosen ones the temporary duty of administration and specific legislation. Now, in the latter case, it is evident, from the very nature of the plan, that there must be some convenient and trusted method by which the people's voice may be heard in its supremacy. Hence comes the ballot. Its form may vary, from the pebble-voting of the half-civilized up to the folded paper which speaks in printed words the will of

him who presents it; yet it is the ballot, and represents the majesty of the popular will. The printed slip, aye, the rude pebble, becomes in such a use more sacred than the ruler's sceptre or the monarch's crown. Do you not see, then, that in very truth it were a less offence to do despite to royalty itself, than to assail the trustworthiness of the people's ballot? you not see that the ballot, simple though it be, is the indispensable condition of popular government? Is it not clear, that deeper down than statutes, and more fundamental than constitutions, is the elective franchise as representing the power that, at its pleasure, makes and unmakes both statutes and constitutions? Is it not plainly inevitable that every interest, whether of good order or property, or even personal safely, depends on the absolute inviolability of the elective franchise? Does it not appear as manifestly as the sun at noonday, that when the purity of that franchise is lost, a profound distrust, a paralyzing sense of insecurity, must pervade all society? Can you doubt that when the ballot is turned into a mockery the substance of self-government is wellnigh gone? So true is it, as Jefferson has said, that "the whole art of government is the art of being honest." Applause.

I am disposed, in charity, to think that some of those who planned, and many of those who practiced, fraud in the recent election, did not realize the enormity of their offence. I cannot easily persuade myself that they understood the full nature of their act, or comprehended the interests they imperiled. Yet their act itself was none the less baleful. It matters not whether he who throws the torch be madman or fiend, the temple is in danger of conflagration. It makes no difference whether the blow be aimed half in wantonness or wholly in malice, the pierced heart ceases to beat. No man, therefore, can overrate the seriousness of the present hour. He who considers it most carefully will, I am sure, be moved with gravest

apprehensions.

And now the final question comes—"What is the further demand of the crisis?" The danger has been pointed out. The protest has been borne. What is the remaining duty? Fellow-citizens, the remaining duty is twofold. On the one hand, it looks backward, and says, "An outrage has been committed. A crime against Society and the State has been consummated. The tacit compact which underlies all popular government, and the open statute which expresses the popular judgment, have alike been violated. The law with its retributions must therefore take its course. The criminal must be prosecuted. The guilty must be made to suffer." [Applause.] Thus much you owe, good friends, not only to the protection of the ballot, but also, I may say, to the vindication of justice itself. Let it once be understood that, through your indifference, a gross infraction of law and order, such as recently took place in this city, can go unpunished, and you yourselves strike a blow at the supremacy of all righteous authority. You virtually tell your children, and the rising generation at large, that any crime may hope to escape its deserts. You certainly give them to infer that crimes against the elective franchise are not held in real abhorence by the inhabitants of Chicago. Indeed, you practically encourage the wrongdoer to repeat the offence which is so devoid of personal peril. Accordingly, without the least vindictiveness; nay, in part, for the sake of genuine mercy to the depraved and tempted; I charge you to invoke against them the utmost penalties of the courts. Restore and reënforce their lost or wavering integrity, by a wholesome fear of swift-coming consequences. Teach all men that though, as in the old mythology, Justice has feet of wool, her hands are of iron, and that there is woe to him on whom those hands are laid. [Loud applause.] Such, I judge, is the duty

of the hour, which has reference to the past.

Nor, on the other hand, and in reference to the future, is the duty less clear and imperative. There, the rather, the field of endeavor broadens and the urgencies increase. For, above all things else, the duty of the future means the consecration of all good citizens, man by man, to the more active support of good government. It means the casting off of personal indifference and the substitution therefor of personal earnestness. It means the rousing of each legal voter to that jealousy for the purity of the ballot, which is born of the intelligent conviction that a pure ballot is one of the corner-stones of free institutions. Shame to the citizen who rests content when fraudulent voting is practised! Shame to the citizen who foregoes his own prerogative and does not vote at all! Duty bids every man to be faithful in his own person.

And thereafter, fellow-citizens, fidelity to the good cause means organization also. It means—and this I emphasize—it means Citizen's Leagues in every ward in the city. It means a central committee, which shall be composed of delegates from the several ward organizations. It means, in short, the brains and hearts and hands of the city, from every class and color and sect and party and nationality, combined in the supreme purpose of protecting the elective franchise. [Great applause.] I pray you go not from this hall till you have taken all possible steps toward such an immediate result.

Yet I have heard good men, within these last few days, say "It is of no use. We are doomed to be betrayed in every attempt. The dishonest elements are in power, and it is vain to combat them. Let it go, and perhaps revolution will some day bring redress." Fellow-citizens of Chicago, the attempt at present redress is of exceeding use. Taken at the very least, it is the doing of duty. Taken at any just appraisal, it is the achieving of magnificent success. Let the mass of our law-abiding citizens undertake the work in earnest; let them, laying aside divisive and petty issues, stand shoulder to shoulder; let them enlist not for a day, or a week, or a month, or a year, but for the war, for life; and the reign of political fraud will speedily be over. Let the people put themselves permanently in battle-array, and even our municipal affairs can again be made decent and pure. [Applause.]

Hail, then, to that better day. Hail to the good name of our city revindicated before the world. Hail to the ballot purified and protected. Hail to the foundations of civic prosperity secured against future assault. Hail to the time when, through united effort and the blessing of Almighty God, "our officers shall indeed be peace, and our exactors right-eousness." Hail to the defeat of falsehood and the triumph of eternal

truth! [Loud and continued applause.]

The Resolutions were then put, and carried by a unanimous vote.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

20th Ward Citizens' Club,

AND THE

PRINCIPAL SECTIONS

FROM THE

Illinois Statutes Regulating Elections.

For the purpose of protection to the elective franchise, and in order to secure the selection of proper men for our municipal and county administration, and believing that to secure these ends, united and organized action is necessary;

WE, CITIZENS AND VOTERS in the 20th Ward of the City of Chicago, have formed this Club, and for its government have established this

CONSTITUTION.

- ART. I. § 1. The name of this Club shall be "THE 20TH WARD CITIZENS' CLUB."
- § 2. The general purposes of this Club shall be those set forth in the Preamble to this Constitution, employing such means to execute those purposes as this Club may from time to time adopt.
- ART. II. § 1. The Officers of this Club shall consist of a President, five Vice-Presidents, (one from each precinct,) a Secretary, and Treasurer, to be elected by open vote at the first regular meeting of the Club, whose term of office shall be for the period of one year, respectively, from the time of their election, or until their successors are provided.
- § 2. The President shall preside at all regular meetings of the Club, and shall perform all the duties ordinarily incident to the office.

- § 3. A Vice-President shall, in the absence of the President, preside at all regular meetings, and perform all the duties which would otherwise be incumbent upon the President.
- § 4. The Secretary shall have custody of the books, papers, and documents of the Club, and shall keep full and correct records of its proceedings.
- § 5. The Treasurer shall receive the moneys of the Club; from time to time disburse the same as may be required, keeping full and correct accounts of all such moneys received and disbursed by him.
- ART. III. § 1. At the first meeting of this Club there shall be an Executive Committee selected, composed of eighteen persons in the Ward, the President, Secretary, and Treasurer being members ex-officio.
- § 2. The Executive Committee thus appointed, shall continue in office for the period of one year from the time of their selection, or until their successors are provided, and shall have power to fill vacancies in their number, it being understood, in their discretion, that failure to attend two successive and duly notified meetings of the Committee, is equivalent to a resignation.
- § 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to provide for the financial and executive interests of the Club, to pass upon names proposed for membership, and to call meetings of the Club whenever they deem it necessary. It shall also be the duty of the Committee to appoint, at least ten days before each election, and from the membership of the Club, a suitable person, who shall have general direction of such members as have volunteered to render special service on days of election. The Committee shall likewise see to it that, under the direction of the person so appointed, a sufficient number of special-service members are at each polling-place, from the opening to the closing of the polls, in order that all the provisions of the statute concerning elections may be strictly enforced.
- ART. IV. Any citizen or legal voter of this Ward, irrespective of party affiliation, may become a member of this Club, upon being approved by the Executive Committee, and signing this Constitution.
- ART. V. This Constitution may be altered or amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members of this Club present at a regular meeting. But before such alteration or amendment, notice thereof shall have been given, in writing, at a previous meeting, which notice shall set forth the proposed alteration or amendment,

To this Constitution we have subscribed our names, thereby adopting and approving the objects herein declared, and pledging ourselves to aid in carrying them out.

EXTRACTS

From the Illinois Statutes Regulating Elections.

JUDGES AND CLERKS OF ELECTION.

- 36. VACANCIES FILLED.] § 36. If, at the time for the opening of any election, any person appointed or constituted a judge of election shall not be present, or will not act or take the oath to act in such capacity, the judge or judges present may appoint some other qualified elector to act in his place. If there be no judge of election present, or he refuses to act, such electors of the precinct or district as may then be present at the place of election, may fill the places of such judges by election from their number. The judges so appointed shall have the same power and be subject to the same penalties as other judges of election.
- 37. CLERKS OF ELECTION.] § 37: The judges of election shall choose two persons, having similar qualifications with themselves, to act as clerks of election, who may continue to act as such during the pleasure of the judges.

OATH OF JUDGES AND CLERKS OF ELECTION.

38. OATH.] § 38. Previous to any vote being taken, the judges and clerks of the election shall severally take an oath or affirmation, in the following form to-wit:

I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be,) that I will support the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of the state of Illinois, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of judge of election (or clerk as the case may be,) according to the best of my ability.

39. By WHOM ADMINISTERED.] § 39. In case there shall be no judge or justice of the peace present at the opening of the election, or in case such judge or justice shall be appointed a judge or clerk of election, it shall be lawful for the judges of the election to administer the oath or affirmation to each other, and to the clerks of the election; and the person administering such oath or affirmation, shall cause an entry thereof to be made and subscribed by him, and prefixed to each poll book.

BALLOT BOXES AND POLL BOOKS.

- 40. BALLOT BOXES.] § 40. The county board shall provide a sufficient number of ballot boxes, with secure locks and keys at the expence of the county, for the several precincts and districts. There shall be an opening in the lid of each box not larger than is sufficient to admit a single closed ballot to be inserted therein at one time, through which each ballot voted shall be put into the box.
- 42. Blanks, Poll Books, ETC.] § 42. The county clerk shall provide, at the expence of the county, proper blanks, poll books and other necessary election blanks for each precinct and district in his county, and cause a suitable number thereof to be delivered to the judges of election, at least ten days before any election is to be held.

CONSTABLES APPOINTED TO ATTEND ELECTIONS—ORDER.

- 43. COUNTY BOARD, OR JUDGES, MAY APPOINT.] § 43. The county board may appoint one or more constables to attend each place of holding elections, and preserve order during the election; if no constable is appointed by the county board to attend any place of holding election, or if others shall be necessary to preserve order, the judges of election may appoint one or more constables for that purpose.
- 45. SUPPRESSING RIOT, ETC.—ARREST.] § 45. Any constable attending such election may call to his aid a sufficient number of citizens to arrest any disorderly person or suppress any riot or disorder during the election. Whoever conducts himself in a riotous or disorderly manner at any election, and persists in such conduct after being warned to desist, may be arrested without warrant.
- 48. TIME OF OPENING AND CLOSING POLLS.] § 48. The polls shall be opened at the hour of eight o'clock in the morning and continued open until seven o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, at which time the polls shall be closed; but if the judges shall not attend at the hour of eight o'clock in the morning, or if it shall be

necessary for the electors present to appoint judges to conduct the election, as herein before prescribed, the polls may, in that case, be opened at any hour before the time for closing the same shall arrive, as the case may require.

- 49. PROCLAMATION.] § 49. Upon opening the polls one of the clerks or judges of election shall make proclamation of the same, and at least thirty minutes before the closing of the polls, proclamation shall be made in like manner that the polls will be closed in half an hour.
- 50. BALLOT BOX PUBLICLY EXHIBITED, ETC.—LOCKED—KEYS.] § 50. Before any ballot shall be deposited in the ballot box, the ballot box shall be publicly opened and exhibited, and the judges and clerks shall see that no ballot is in such box; after which the box shall be locked and the key delivered to one of the judges, and shall not be again opened until the close of the polls.
- 51. Poll LISTS—How KEPT.] § 51. Each clerk of the election shall keep a poll list, which shall contain a column headed "number," and another headed "names of voters." The name of each elector voting shall be entered upon each of the poll books by the clerks, in regular succession, under the proper headings, and the number of such voter placed opposite his name in the column headed "number."
- 52. BALLOTS.] § 52. The manner of voting shall be by ballot. The ballot shall be printed or written, or partly printed and partly written, upon plain paper, with the name of each candidate voted for, and the title of the offices. When the ballot is printed, the same shall be printed upon plain paper, in plain type, in straight lines, with a blank space below each name, of a width not less than equal to the width of the line in which the name is printed. [See Const., art. 7, § 2.
 - 53. FORM OF BALLOT.] § 53. The names of all candidates for which the elector intends to vote shall be written or printed upon the same ballot, and the office to which he desires each to be elected shall be designated upon the ballot.
 - 54. FORM OF CUMULATIVE BALLOT.] § 54. In voting for representatives to the general assembly, if the voter intends to give more than one vote to any candidate, he shall express his intention on the face of the ballot, in words or figures, which may be done in either of the following forms: A B, C D, E F, which shall be held to mean one vote for each candidate named;

- or A B 1½ votes, C D 1½ votes; or A B 2 votes, C D 1 vote; or A B 3 votes. [See Const., art 4, § 7, 8.
- 55. Manner of receiving and delivered to one of the judges of election; and if the judges be satisfied that the person offering the vote is a legal voter, the clerks of election shall enter the name of the voter, and his number, under the proper heading in the poll books, and the judges shall endorse on the back of the ticket offered the number corresponding with the number of the voter on the poll books, and shall immediately put the ticket into the ballot box.
- 56. NO ADJOURNMENT OR RECESS.] § 56. After the opening of the polls no adjournment shall be had, nor shall any recess be taken, until all the votes cast at such election shall have been counted and the result publicly announced.
- 57. Canvass of votes.] § 57. Immediately upon closing the polls, the judges shall proceed to canvass the votes polled. They shall first count the whole number of ballots in the box. If the ballots shall be found to exceed the number of names entered on each of the poll lists, they shall reject the ballots, if any be found upon which no number is marked; if the number of ballots still exceeds the number of names entered on each of the poll lists, they shall be replaced in the box and the box closed and well shaken and again opened, and one of the judges shall publicly draw out and destroy so many ballots, unopened, as shall be equal to such excess; and the ballot or poll lists agreeing, or being made to agree, the board shall proceed to count, and estimate and publish the votes; and when the judges of election shall open and read the tickets, each clerk shall carefully mark down upon the tallylist the votes each candidate receives, in a separate column prepared for that purpose, with the name of such candidate at the head of such column, and the office, designated by the votes, such candidate shall fill.
- 58. IRREGULAR BALLOTS.] § 58. If more persons are designated for any office than there are candidates to be elected, or if more votes or parts of votes are designated on any ballot for representatives than the voter is entitled to cast, such part of the ticket shall not be counted for either of the candidates.
- 59. BALLOTS STRUNG AND RETURNED —WHEN DESTROYED.] § 59. All the ballots counted by the judges of election

shall, after being read, be strung upon a strong thread or twine, in the order in which they have been read, and shall then be carefully enveloped and sealed up by judges, who shall direct the same to the officer to whom by law they are required to return the poll books, and shall be delivered, together with the poll books, to such officer, who shall carefully preserve said ballots for six months, and at the expiration of that time shall destroy them by burning, without the package being previously opened: Provided, if any contest of election shall be pending at such time in which such ballots may be required as evidence, the same shall not be destroyed till such contest is finally determined.

61. FORM OF RETURN.] § 61. When the votes shall have been examined and counted, the clerks shall set down in their poll books the name of every person voted for, written at full length, the office for which such person received such votes, and the number he did receive, the number being expressed in words at full length; such entry to be made, as nearly as circumstances will admit, in the following form, to-wit:

At an election held at....., in the county of...., and state of Illinois, on the....day...., in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and..., the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names, for the following described offices, to-wit: (name of candidate) had (number of votes) for (title of office), (and in the same manner for any other persons voted for.) Certified by us,

AB, CD, Judges of election. EF,

Attest: GH, | Clerks of election.

62. RETURNS TO BE DELIVERED TO COUNTY CLERK—CANVASS, ETC.] § 62. Such certificate, together with one of the lists of voters and one of the tally papers, having been carefully enveloped and sealed up, shall be put into the hands of one of the judges or board of election, who shall, within four days thereafter, deliver the same to the county clerk or his deputy, at the office of said county clerk; and when received, such clerk or deputy shall proceed to open, canvass and publish the return from each precinct or election district, as provided by law. [See § 71.

64. CHALLENGERS.] § 64. The judges of election shall allow at least one, and not more than two legal voters of each

party to the contest, to be chosen by the parties respectively, into the room where the election is held, to act as challengers of voters at such election; and such challengers may remain with the board of election until the votes are all canvassed and the result declared.

QUALIFICATION OF VOTERS.

65. Who May vote.] § 65. Every person having resided in this state one year, in the county ninety days, and in the election district thirty days next preceding any election therein, who was an elector in this state on the first day of April, in the year of our Lord 1848, or obtained a certificate of naturalization before any court of record in this state prior to the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1870, or who shall be a male citizen of the United States, above the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to vote at such election. [See Const., art. 7, § 1.

66. RESIDENCE.] § 66. A permanent abode is necessary to constitute a residence within the meaning of the preceding section.

§ 67. Whenever, at any general or special election, in any precinct, district, city, village, town or ward, any person offering to vote is not personally known to the judges of election to have the qualifications mentioned in the two preceding sections, if his vote is challenged by a legal voter at such election, he shall make and subscribe an affidavit, in the following form, which shall be retained by the judges of election, and returned by them with the poll books:

STATE OF ILLINOIS, County of Cook. \ ss.

I,, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am a citizen of the United States, (or, "that I was an elector on the first day of April, A.D. 1848" or, "that I obtained a certificate of naturalization before a court of record in this state prior to the first day of January, A.D. 1870," as the case may be,) that I have resided in this state one year, in this county ninety days, and in this election district thirty days next preceding this election; that I now reside at (here give the particular house or place of residence, and, if in a town or city, the street and number,) in this election district; that I am twenty-one years of age, and have not voted at this election: so help me God, (or, "this I do solemnly and sincerely affirm," as the case may be.)

Subscribed and sworn to before me, thisday of...., A.D. 18...

68. AFFIDAVIT OF WITNESS.] § 68. In addition to such an affidavit, the person so challenged shall produce a witness, personally known to the judges of election, and resident in the precinct or district, or who shall be proved by some legal voter of such precinct or district, known to the judges to be such, who shall take the oath following, viz.:

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am a resident of this election precinct (or district,) and entitled to vote at this election, and that I have been a resident herein for one year last passed, and am well acquainted with the person whose vote is now offered; that he is an actual and bona fide resident of this election precinct (or district,) and has resided herein thirty days, and, as I verily believe, in this county ninety days, and in this state one year next preceding this election.

- 69. Who may administer oath.] § 69. The oath, in each case, may be administered by either of the judges of election, or by any officer, resident in the precinct or district, authorized by law to administer oaths.
- 70. CONVICTS DISQUALIFICATION.] § 70. No person who has been legally convicted of any crime, the punishment of which is confinement in penitentiary, shall be permitted to vote at any election, unless he shall be restored to the right to vote by pardon. [See Const., art. 7, § 7.

OFFENSES AND PENALTIES.

- 80. FALSE SWEARING.] § 80. If any person whose vote is challenged, or any witness sworn under the provisions of this act, shall knowingly, wilfully and corruptly, swear falsely, he shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and on conviction thereof shall be punished accordingly.
- 81. ILLEGAL VOTING.] § 81. Whoever unlawfully votes more than once at any election, or offers to vote after having once voted at such election, or knowing that he is not a qualified voter at an election, wilfully votes at such election, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1000, or imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.
- 82. OTHER OFFENSES.] § 82. Whoever wilfully aids or abets any one not legally qualified to vote at an election, in voting or attempting to vote, at such election; or,
- 2d. Furnishes an elector with a ticket or ballot informing him that it contains a name different from that which appears

thereon, with intent to induce him to vote contrary to his inclinations; or,

3d. Fraudulently or deceitfully changes a ballot of an elector, with intent to deprive such elector of voting for such person as he intended; or,

4th. Endeavors to procure the vote of any elector, or the influence of any person over an elector at any election, for himself or for or against any person, by means of a promise of a favor, or by means of violence or threats of violence, or threats of withdrawing custom or dealing in business or trade, or enforcing the payment of a debt, or bringing a suit, or criminal prosecution, or any other threat of injury to be inflicted by him or his means; or,

5th. By offering a reward or bribe, or by treating to or giving spirituous, malt, or other liquor, either directly or indirectly, influences or attempts to influence any voter in giving or withholding his vote at an election; or,

6th. By bribery, or by corrupt or unlawful means, prevents or attempts to prevent any voter from attending or voting at an election; or,

7th. Gives or offers to give any valuable thing or bribe to any judge or clerk of election, as a consideration for some act to be done or omitted to be done, contrary to his official duty, in relation to such election, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1000, or imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

BETTING ON ELECTION.] Whoever bets or wagers any money, property or other valuable thing upon the result of an election which may be held under the constitution or laws of this state, or bets or wagers money, property or other valuable thing upon the number of votes which may be given to any person at an election, or upon who will receive the greatest number of votes at an election; or agrees to pay any other person any money, property or other valuable thing, in the event that an election shall result in one way, or in the event that any person shall or shall not be elected, or shall receive a greater number of votes than others, upon conviction thereof he shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1000, or imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court. [See Crim. Code, ch. 38, p. 372, § 132.

86. OFFENSES OF JUDGE OF ELECTION.] § 86. If any judge of any election shall permit a person to vote whose vote is challenged, without the proof required in this act; or,

2d. Shall knowingly and wilfully permit a person to testify as a witness contrary to the provisions of this act; or,

3d. Shall knowingly permit a person to vote who is not qualified according to law;

or,

4th. Shall knowingly receive and count more than one vote from the same person at the same election for the same office, except as allowed by law; or,

5th. Shall refuse to receive the vote of a qualified elector at such election, who will make the affidavit and proof required

by this act; or,

6th. Shall be guilty of any fraud, corruption, partiality or manifest misbehavior;

or,

7th. Shall open or unfold any ballot when the same is presented to be deposited in the ballot box; or,

8th. Shall wilfully neglect to perform any of the duties required of him by this act, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1000, or imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

89. NEGLECT OF DUTY BY CLERK.] § 89. If any clerk of an election shall wilfully neglect to perform any duty required of him as clerk of election, or shall be guilty of fraud, corruption or misbehavior as such clerk, he shall, on conviction, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$500, or imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding six months, or both, in the discretion of the court.

REGISTRATION.

The following are the principal provisions relative thereto:—

REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS.

AN ACT for the registry of electors and to prevent fraudulent voting. [Approved and in force February 15, 1865. L. 1865, p. 54.

135. BOARD OF REGISTRATION—MEET-ING—REGISTER.] § 1. Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, That the persons authorized by law, or appointed pursuant to any town or city ordinance, to act as judges or inspectors of elections in any town, city or ward, or other election district or precinct in this state, shall constitute a "board of registry," for their respective towns, cities, wards, districts or precincts, and shall meet on Tuesday, three weeks preceding any state election, at nine o'clock A.M., and proceed to make a list, as hereinafter prescribed, of all persons qualified and entitled to vote at the ensuing election in the election district of which they are judges or inspectors; which list, when completed, shall constitute and be known as the "register" of electors of said election district. [As amended by act approved March 27, 1874; in force July 1, 1874.]

136. MANNER OF MAKING REGISTER, ETC.—FIRST MEETING.] § 2. Said regisers shall each contain a list of the persons

so qualified and entitled to vote in said election district, alphabetically arranged according to their respective surnames, so as to show, in one column, the name at full length, and in another column, in cities, the residence, by the number of the dwelling, if there be a number, and the name of the street or other location of the dwelling place of each person. It shall be the duty of said board to enter in said lists the names of all persons residing in their election district, whose name appears on the poll list kept in said district at the last preceding election—in cities the number of the dwelling and the name of the street or other location, if the same shall be known to or can be ascertained by such board-and for this purpose said board are authorized to take from the office in which they are filed the poll lists made and filed by the judges or inspectors of such district, at the election held next prior to the making of such register. In making said list, the board shall enter thereon, in addition to the names on the poll list, the names of all other persons who are well known to them to be electors in said district; and the names of all persons on the poll list who have died or removed from the district shall be omitted from the register.

168. Pattern Realster - Stury Name of the stall arm make on Trassing of the preek preek and the stall arm make on the stall arms of the stall arms and the stall arms of the electron. It was the stall arms of the electron of the stall arms of the electron of the stall arms of the electron of the stall arms of the stal

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or inspectors, or either of them, or by any other elector whose name appears on said authorical list.

IL. ENTER W REPOSTER BY CLERK! - TIPITERED TOTER - FENELTTE s i I where enem electron at the time of The state of the s นับ กราช โดย การ์ นี้ น้องไรเอล โกกัฐ (we have a separate to the second of the seco der de de persona de se mante de The second of the second of the second ----and the second to the second t the state of the series of and the man of the policy and the second s The state of the s and the thing is a second with a file The second secon

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